commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The Ezo were completely under contractor control, working as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing. This change became obvious in the period falling from the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so did this change come into operation at various times. Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai Zuihitsu* notes:

> The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries. The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods directly with the merchants. The merchants could also enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation: "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on various articles." This method became more and more popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were also due to the type of product handled.

1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods of hunting them and carry on without capital advances or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by barter.

2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a credit system was established.

3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale production was possible and the entrepreneur himself took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new territory. Naturally the trade shifted inland and as the trade in this group decreased the trade in the products of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

These three types of products brought about a change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo who dealt in group (1) retained their position as independent producers and were on equal terms while those Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to be independent producers but were actually subject to the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the merchants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

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weak and gradually they turned into a conquered people. This principle became apparent as the Ezo were more and more suppressed. Even those in Group (1) could not hope to trade on equal terms while those in group (3) were treated more as slaves than as laborers.

2. THE GROWTH OF JAPANESE CONTROLS IN HOKKAIDŌ

The 1669 revolt, the biggest "incident" since the Amakusa affair [the Shimabara Revolt of 1637–1638] came as a surprise to the Japanese. The Matsumae made great efforts to appease the natives and interdicted Ezo areas to Japanese while at the same time strictly prohibiting Ezo from coming to Matsumae.[34] However, very little else is known of the control system aside from this and, while this policy of interdiction became less stringent,[35] the 1669 incident unavoidably changed the political relationships between Ainu and Japanese. In the *SGM* the Matsumae chief says, "There are fifty to sixty Ezo serving who came from Ezo, Karafuto, and Kurumise islands, among them some who were chiefs. There is no one who is above them to give them orders but me." This seems an exaggeration but it is a true picture of conditions in that area suppressed by the Matsumae at the time of the 1669 revolt. The political relationship between Ezo and Matsumae was inherent in the very conditions of their trade and began when that trade opened. The exchange of gifts was itself an expression of mutual good will. In 1550 Kakizaki Suehiro sent precious and highly valued goods to the Ezo, to win their favor. A chief of Ezo showed his respect by accepting the presents with the statement *"Kamui Tokui." "Kamui"* means a god and is a title of honor. *"Tokui"* means friendship. This chief who had the honor of friendly relations with Matsumae was proud of the fact that he was a good friend of the leader of the clan whom he respected as a god. However, in trade one party stands at a disadvantage. Naturally those Ezo who became vitally dependent on the trade with the Japanese became subject to them. And after the Matsumae clan became an independent power they had behind them the backing of the powerful mainland clans. The Ezo defeated in the 1669 affair completely lost their independence. When they signed that part of the pledge that read, "No matter what the order may be from the lord, we all, regardless of sex, promise never to rebel," those chiefs who had previously been on equal terms with the Matsumae leader came under his control. *"Otona":* a Japanese term used to denote the leader of a self-governing community in the fifteenth century came to be

[34] Takeuchi Unpei, *Hokkaidō Shisō* (Essentials of the history of Hokkaidō), 26.

[35] "According to the *Tōyu Zakki* written by Furukawa Koshōken in 1788 the Ezo were forbidden to stay in Matsumae although there were some who came and remained as day laborers. But there were also Japanese who went into Ezo territory and remained there as adopted sons." *Kinsei Shakai Keizai Shō* 3: 126, 164.

system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an important role in the development of Hokkaidō. These contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjōkin*, but also *Goyōkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

The contract system became less important in later years but the chief objective was still profit in trade. Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gō 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate. The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as they had taken over but on other occasions would return with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sōya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shō:
- 6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
- 500 sea cucumbers
- 5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
- 15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
- 6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
- 3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shō.
- *shirako* [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
- *Sasame* [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidō Shi* 1 (3): chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Igen Zokuwa*.

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Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

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There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yearly, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

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In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

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After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

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A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

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This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

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was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.[a]

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end ot this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting. and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions. was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

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This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

[a] From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

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This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

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The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

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Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

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in taste.[5] Sometimes, as can be seen in reports made to officials in Kushiro and other *Basho*, breweries were set up in various parts of Ezo and a standard method of brewing was enforced so that sufficient crude sake would be on hand.[6]

The Bakufu was also prudent in seeing that the Ezo got just compensation for their labors. The use of Ezo as workmen had become frequent just prior to this period because a number of industries became permanent. But this status as laborers was due to the pledge given by them after the revolt of 1669 and so their pay was small and uncertain.

After the Bakufu took over there was an increase in the number of officials and guards and, as the trading posts and guardhouses were permanent affairs, a greater number of Ezo were used for such low-class jobs as porters and servants. They were also used as guides, messengers, coolies, ferrymen, mule drivers, and even to open up new roads.[7] They were overworked, a fact which Kondō Juzo notes in his *SECG:* "Transportation so far has been confined to the coasts and regardless of whether or not it was the fishing season the Ezo were called upon to serve as laborers whenever necessary, thus hampering their fishing a great deal."[8] The Bakufu set a rate of pay in rice and ordered that "All Ezo working as coolies or at other types of labor shall be given, as heretofore, seven gō five shaku of rice when traveling over five ri and one shō when traveling over ten ri."[9]

Seven gō five shaku of unpolished rice was the base pay for the Ezo and in later years sake and money were added to this. If a native could not return to his home on the same day that he set out on a job, rice was given to him, on the same basis, for his return trip. According to documents sent to the Tsugaru clan by the Bakufu in 1806 the going rate of pay for guides was two meals and two gō of sake and for those who helped in building houses or gathering firewood the per diem was three shō of rice per person.[10] This is much better pay than is found in the *Ezo Nikki* [Ezo Diary] of Mutō Kanzō written in 1798 in which the compensation is listed as two gō five shaku per day. Discussion of wages will be reserved for a later chapter.

B. CIRCULATION OF IRON COINS

The advisability of the circulation of iron coins was an important factor in the discussions of Bakufu policy makers. The barter system had many faults and

[5] *SHS* 5: 401 and 405. This however was on an experimental basis only and was soon abandoned owing to small quantities and high costs.

[6] *Kusuri Basho Toriatsukaikata Kakisuki* (Extract of notes concerning the administration of Kusuri *Basho*).

[7] Hokkaidō Chō, ed. *Hokkaido Dōro Shi* (History of roads in Hokkaidō), 8-9.

[8] *Kondō Seisai Zenshu* 1: 39.

[9] *SHS* 5: 554.

[10] *Bunka Sannen Tsutomeshiki* (Officials acts of 1806) and *Bunsei Gonen Nishichi hikiwatashi ensetsusho* (Address regarding the transfer of the Western territories in 1822).

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since there were no exact standards for measuring values or setting exchange rates, the settlement of accounts was involved and clever contractors took advantage of this to cheat. The result was a growing native discontent. Toward the end of the Matsumae period rice was used as a basic measure of value but rice as a medium of currency had many drawbacks. Dishonest merchants lowered the quality or cheated in the weight and, since rice was used to express the value of commodities and was not itself used as a medium of exchange, the settlement of accounts remained extremely complicated. When the trade was extensive, this situation not only gave ample opportunities for dishonesty to the traders but it was a cause of misunderstanding which inflamed Ezo suspicions, even if a transaction had been carried out properly. Unfair practices could be checked by official supervision but this policy could only result in an increasing number of officials and even then it would be impossible to oversee every moment of a transaction. It was then, if the trade were to be remedied, needful to abandon the barter system so as to leave no room for dishonesty, to simplify accounts, and set standards of exchange by circulating money. The barter system had other flaws as well: (*a*) Rice was used as a value measurement but only when the value amounted to eight shō or more. When the value involved was less than eight shō goods cheaper than rice were given to the Ezo. For example, the cheapest needles were held at thirty-two to the sack of rice, which was equivalent to saying that a needle was worth two gō five shaku and, since this was the lowest value established, women and children who had only meagre amounts to trade received nothing in return but a cup of sake or a bowl of rice. (*b*) In the barter system the Ezo were forced to buy large amounts of goods at a time even if they did not need them. The main things they got in return were sake, rice, and tobacco, although some clothes and tools were traded. Since the Ezo had little comprehension of saving and used or squandered all their goods at once, in the belief that kept goods decreased in value, they were always poverty stricken. (*c*) Since the trade had been meant to bring relief to the Ezo, goods were distributed over as wide an area as possible. But this involved a great deal of labor as well as expense in transportation, and neither side profited, thus making it difficult to expand the scope of the trade. So the disadvantages of rice as a measure of value lay in the difficulty with which it was divided, stored, and transported. These faults were pointed out to the Bakufu in the written report of the Commissioners who recommended the use of iron coins. The suggestion was accepted and in 1799 the government sent 10,000 iron kan to Ezo for circulation.

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It was intended that these coins would not only be used in trade but as wages and that their use would eliminate the historic fraud and cheating of the trade. The coins were iron because of the mercantilist views of the Bakufu which was afraid of sending precious

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asserted that they traded with the races living in Eastern Siberia, and with the Kurile and Aleutian Islands and with Kamschatka. They also did much trade by barter with Matsumai. Chief Penri informed me that his ancestors traded with Manchuria. As proof of this he showed me a string of Manchurian cash, the brass bowl of a tobacco pipe, and some brass rings with which the Saghalien Ainu women decorated their belts.

The Ainu community had various methods of punishing offenders, which were regulated by the different misdemeanours committed and the dispositions of the judges and people. They never appear to have favoured the death penalty, since they considered death no punishment at all. Infliction of pain or disgrace only did they consider worthy of the name of punishment, and the more severe the pain the greater the punishment. Tying up with cords and beating was the most common method of punishing offenders, though this was superadded to other kinds in some cases. The mad were sometimes treated in this way.

For breaking into a granary a very sound beating was administered for the first offence, and this was a great disgrace. For the second, sometimes the tip of the nose or the lobes of the ears were cut off and the offender was driven out of the village and boycotted. For breaking the seventh commandment, it used to be the custom to impose fines, or to tie up the hands of the male offender behind his back and then hang him up by the hair of his head with his toes just touching the ground, and give him a whipping. The female was generally allowed to go free in disgrace, though sometimes she came in for a flogging. Single people were generally made to marry.

For murder it was customary to cut the tendons of the feet, thus maiming the culprit for life. The tendons were severed close to the heels. This was a